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DISARMAMENT: THE INTERNATIONAL CONNECTION

by David McReynolds

(This article was prepared as part of WRL's discussion of the issues involved with the Mobilization for Survival. The last issue of WRL News carried a full story on the Mobilization by Ed Hedemann. For information on the Mobilization, write WRL: 339 Lafayette Street, NYC 10012, or the national office of the Mobilization for Survival: 198 Broadway, Room 302, New York City 10038]

The pacifist movement has gone through a long period in which the primary focus on foreign policy issues was Vietnam and during which even the most determined anti-Communist could not find a factual basis for placing "equal blame" on the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The evidence remains overwhelming in its clarity: the Vietnam wars, from its beginning, was a unilateral U.S. intervention. Even later in the war, when some Soviet and Chinese military aid did come in, the combined aid from both Communist countries was less than 10% what the U.S. sent.

Vietnam made us more critical of our own society. It exposed the class nature of America—particularly in its method of raising troops by drafting lower income groups and exempting middle and upper income youth. (This particular aspect of the war proved so embarrassing to the Establishment that eventually the lottery system was introduced—but even at the end of the war the question could still be asked: how many sons and grandsons of members of Congress and heads of corporations were ever drafted?). Vietnam exposed and deepened the racism of America, exposed and deepened the police surveillance of political movements, and left us, *correctly,* focusing our closest attention on our own country.

Post-Vietnam Complexity

However it may well have left us unprepared for the issue of disarmament, *where the responsibility is multilateral,* even if our suggested actions are unilateral and our primary demands are made upon our own government. There are three main "players" in the arms game:the U.S. and its allies and client states; the Soviet Union and its allies and client states; and finally the People's Republic of China. In addition the smaller nations are an erratic factor, able to develop nuclear bombs and able to begin non-nuclear wars into which great powers can be drown. (Two examples: The Korean War of 1950 seems to have begun without "permission" from the great powers, but eventually it brought the U.S. and Chinese into direct combat just short of nuclear war. The second is the Middle East where Israel is clearly a client state of the U.S. but also is willing to gamble that even if it started a war without U.S. approval, the U.S. would be compelled to give support).

The dynamics of the arms race differ somewhat for each of the major blocs. The Soviet Union, unlike the U.S., has no network of corporate holdings, but it has found it necessary to maintain armed forces in or near the East European countries because of very real dangers of these countries breaking free of the Soviet Union (Hungary and Poland in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, widespread unrest today). In addition there is concern that as NATO weakens, the Soviets *seem* to be increasing the level of their ground forces in Eastern Europe, less with the intent of a direct military attack, than to speed the "Finlandization" of Europe (i.e., to make Western Europe a zone of primary Soviet influence, as with Finland).

The Chinese military build-up is interesting because when China was weakest and before Nixon had re-opened U.S. relations with China, the Soviets did *not* attack. (Though there was widespread discussion that the Soviets were considering a "surgical strike" at China's infant nuclear processing plants. It might be noted that in the late 1940's there had been similar discussion in the U.S. regarding the Soviet Union—the Secretary of Navy even publicly urged a "preventive war for peace" to neutralize the Soviet Union before it gained nuclear weapons. Bertrand Russell suggested much the same thing). However China now has nuclear bombs and a tacit alliance with the U.S. and if the Soviet Union did not attack when China was weakest and most isolated internationally, why should it attack today? However the Chinese continue to insist in their official statements that war is inevitable, they are

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currently seeking to modernize their armed forces, and they are—something of a paradox for a revolutionary power—strong supporters of U.S. militarism. What we are dealing with here is not "the logic of logic", but the "logic of nation states", which is often not logic at all, but chaotic irrationality. And one point must be made: the Soviet Union and China prove that capitalism is not the sole basis for war, for hundreds of thousands of Communist troops face each other across the Sino-Soviet border and they are not there for reasons of proletarian solidarity.

Vested U.S. Interest in Militarism

Finally we come to our own country, which has a double vested interest in arms. First, we have huge corporate holdings throughout much of the world and we rely on arms or the threat of arms to keep stability in these areas. There is a second factor about the U.S. military drive which differs from the Soviet and Chinese: our economy has never been able to generate full employment and, in economic terms, has become dependent on military spending to keep unemployment down. Even under capitalist economics, we could generate higher employment with non-military government spending, but such spending is attacked as "socialist". The only government spending which private industry and conservatives support is military spending, since such spending both helps secure corporate holdings abroad, and it does not compete with private industry but actually subsidizes it.

Military Castes and the Arms Race

There is another factor which applies to all the major powers: a military caste has developed in each major power, and this caste has great influence and a strong bias toward military spending. More is involved than a military concern for national security—prestige, economic security, political power all go with military leadership. Any massive cuts in military budgets would throw generals out of work. And generals are not exempt from the iron law that no one likes to be fired and forced to hunt for a new job.

To sum up: the struggle for disarmament is very different from the struggle against the Indochina War. In that case, it was a matter of world wide cooperation of movements, including pro-Soviet or pro-Chinese movements, in a great united front *directed against the United States*, which was in fact solely responsible for the Indochinese tragedy. Disarmament is much more complex and vastly more international—it is a struggle of *all peoples* against *any armed government*. Concretely, this means that it is *not* just the U.S. that is a serious problem, but also the Soviet Union and the People's Republic of China. The new situation means that some allies during the Indochinese period will give only nominal support for disarmament, and will actually support the military structure of the power bloc to which they are allied. This will be done with the slogan "universal disarmament"—an appealing slogan but one which permits every major power to blame its enemies for the failure of disarmament. Alva Myrdal has recently published an excellent book on the "disarmament game" pointing out her painful experience in learning that *both* the U.S. and U.S.S.R. blocked serious moves toward disarmament, while using the rhetoric of disarmament.

You Can't Play Games With History

When pacifists raise the issue of unilateral disarmament it is not just a "pacifist" position which political realists can dismiss—it is the only position which strikes at the heart of the question by putting *every* nuclear power on notice that public opinion will no longer tolerate the game of mutual blame for inaction. From the stand point of human survival, history will not be able to distinguish betweens "good", "bad", 'capitalist", and "socialist" nuclear bombs. You can't play games with history. Chinese bombs, Soviet bombs, American bombs, Israeli bombs, Arab bombs—they are *all* criminal in their intent—and their manufacture has stolen money from the poor. Vietnam was a struggle of world opinion against one government. World opinion won. Disarmament is a struggle of world opinion against all nuclear powers and the elites that run them. *If* world opinion wins, human history will continue. If the power elites win, everyone—including the power elites—will be dead.

David McReynolds is on the staff of the WRL.

MOBILIZATION FOR SURVIVAL

Moving swiftly, both the West and East coasts have begun serious local organizing for the disarmament and social justice issues that will be brought to a sharp focus late next spring when there will be a special session of the United Nations on "Disarmament and Development." The West Coast has organized around the slogan "Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament" and affiliated with the Mobilization for Survival. The West Coast office is: c/o WRL/West, 1380 Howard Street, San Francisco, Ca. 94103. The National Office of the Mobilization is 198 Broadway, Room 302, New York City 10038.

WRL staff has taken charge of getting a Hiroshima Day statement signed by prominent figures from around the world. Special press conferences will be held in the U.S., in Japan, and, hopefully, in other countries on August 6 to announce the events of the coming year. From October 15 to November 15 there will be "teach-ins" and "speak-outs" in colleges, churches, trade unions, and communities to discuss the arms race and alternative use of funds. In the early spring of 1978 there will be a single day of nationwide action to "Stop the Arms Race and Fund Our Communities". And sometime during May or June—the date is not set yet—there will be internationally coordinated demonstrations for disarmament and social justice. Special mailings have gone to WRL's key list. If you need more information please write the WRL office immediately.

WRL Organizers Training Program

1977 WRL Organizers Program trainers and participants: TOP ROW... Ed Hedemann, Peter Watson, Michael Luft, Kevin Cubbage, Jim Berenholtz BOTTOM ROW... Joanne Sheehan, Grace Hedemann, Liz Stein, Janet Bychek, Becky Winborn, Kerry Madkin. photo by Bruce Martin

by Becky Winborn

For a week in the latter part of June, at the peak of the strawberry season, a group of us gathered at the Community for Nonviolent Action (CNVA) farm near Voluntown, Connecticut, to participate in the annual War Resisters League training program for organizers. Over the course of the week a study of the history and philosophy of the nonviolent movement was combined with the mechanics and organizational skills and techniques. This wholistic approach to training organizers using a synthesis of theory and application seems to uniquely fulfill a need for a broader understanding and appreciation of the power of nonviolence.

Grace and Ed Hedemann, both national staff for WRL, working with Joanne Sheehan from CNVA succeeded in fitting an enormous amount of content into one short week, while still accommodating for an occassional swim or time alone. The content of the training session was composed of three basic parts: politics and philosophy, issues and areas of focus, and mechanics and techniques of organizing.

As in WRL, nonviolence was the warp through which a vast array of issues were woven. We explored a cross-section of organizing arenas from the single issue local level to international coalitions, looking at both urban and rural situations. A wide range of political perspectives were introduced spanning from electoral politics, to marxism, to anarchism. Racism, feminism, capitalism and related 'isms' were discussed at length in a nonviolent context. Interspersed among the theoretical and topical issues were the nuts and bolts of organizing, such a skills needed to keep an office going (i.e., fund raising, media, printing, etc.), nonviolent training, and how to organize a demonstration.

Along with the wealth of experience and information passed on by the facilitators of the program, we had access to a wide selection of literature, films, and slide shows compliments of WRL and the A.J. Muste Memorial Library located on the property. We were also introduced to a variety of resource people affiliated directly with WRL or friends of the League who were brought in to share their particular area of expertise with us.

Demonstration against launching of the NEW YORK CITY, fast attack submarine, in Groton, CT on June 18, 1977. photo by Grace Hedemann

Our group participated in a vigil protesting the launching of 'The New York City', a fast attack nuclear submarine, along with the members of the Atlantic Life Community. Unfortunately, due to circumstances beyond our control this event took place at the beginning of our training session; ideally a situational application of skills acquired over the breadth of the program should come at the end for maximum benefit.

It is interesting to note that all but three of us had taken part in the occupation of the Seabrook, N.H., nuclear power plant site. This shared experience of civil disobedience provided us with many helpful examples applicable to a number of topics. But too often conversations in this area digressed into 'Seabrookist' stories, excluding those who were not a part of that experience.

Considering we were a diverse group with a broad span of political experience living and working constantly and intensely together, we functioned with surprising ease and efficiency. Speculating on why we were able to work so successfully a a group, I suggest two possible reasons:

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NUCLEAR POWER PLANT OCCUPATIONS

Seabrook occupier's NO NUKES backpack photo by Grace Hedemann

by Ed Hedemann

Until recently, opposition to nuclear power* has been expressed solely in an education, legislative, and legal mode. The use of direct action has added an entirely new dimension to that movement.

Though most people in this country are well aware of the occupation of the nuclear power plant site in Seabrook, New Hampshire, they are probably unaware that mass direct action protests have occured at least once at seven other sites: Kaiseraugst in Switzerland; Wyhl, Brokdorf, and Grondhe in West Germany; Malville and Le Pellerin in France; Mantalto in Italy. What is particularly striking about these actions (most of which were occupations) to observers in this country is their size, with numbers reaching from 10,000 to 30,000 people.

This article will be an attempt to trace the development of the direct action opposition to nuclear power in Europe, and draw the inevitable comparisons with the growth of this movement in the United States.

*Primarily in Norway, Britain, West Germany, Japan, Italy, Ireland, Spain, Australia, New Zealand, Sweden, Switzerland, France, Denmark, and the United States.

Beginnings

Though not involving a nuclear power plant, the struggle of the peasant farmers in the Larzac region of southern France provided an initial stimulus for the direct action campaigns against nuclear power plants.

In 1970 the Government announced plans to expand its Larzac military base for weapons-testing purposes, resulting in the closing of many farms in the area. The peasants countered with an imaginative resistance campaign which included building a sheep farm (beginning June 10, 1973) and a dramatic move by 100 people on October 5, 1974, to occupy the army land, following several years of basically legal protest. The Larzac struggle and occupation became a cause celebre throughout Europe.

Almost simultaneously, hundreds of peasants in Markolsheim, France, near the German border, began an occupation of a lead plant site. The occupation was the culmination of months of agitation against the proposed factory which, when built, would emit lead dust over a 10 to 20 mile area from the plant, causing chronic lead poisoning. Hundreds of people came to the construction site and placed themselves in the way of the workmen erecting a fence. They soon had pitched their tents and prepared a plan for the occupation—each day one village from Alsace (France) and one from Baden (Germany) were responsible to keep watch at the site. If the police should try to remove them they would notify friends in the village via walkie talkie and within a short time bells would begin tolling and telephones would ring throughout the region and several thousand people would turn out to support the occupiers, preventing police activity by blocking the roads to the construction site.

At one point when the French Government did attempt to close the border for Germans crossing over to support the occupation, the people completely blocked the roads, thus forcing the prefect to open the border to all the next day.

Camping wagons were brought in. A chicken pen, small cabin and a large round "Freundschaft's Hus" (Friendship House) were built. They installed electricity with a portable generator and a well for water. A few months later, officials relented and the construction was ended.

The first occupation of a nuclear power plant site occured in late 1973 when 400 people briefly occupied a site in Kaiseraugst, Switzerland.

Mass Demonstrations

It was the occupation of the proposed nuclear power plant site in Wyhl, which really sparked the mass direct action campaigns against nuclear power in Europe and in the United States. A few hundred farmers, students and other residents near Wyhl, marched to the site on Tuesday (2/18/75) and occupied it until Thursday when police came in and cleared the site using water cannons and arresting only the youths involved, though farmers asked to be arrested as well.

The police then erected barbed wire and anti-tank blockades around the site. On Friday, 5000 people encircled the encampment and threatened to block access roads. On Sunday the 23rd, 20,000 people demonstrated in front while

several hundred approached from the rear and tore down the fence and barbed wire and once again occupied the site. The police, being numerically overwhelmed, did not attempt to stop this second occupation.

As with the Markolsheim occupation, a Friendship House was set up and a core of people continuously occupied the site until April 1976 when an agreement was reached that the site would remain open and construction would not begin at least until November. Then on March 14, 1977 a decision was made that the plant would not be built.

The occupation and success at Wyhl sparked a second occupation at Kaiseraugst, and inspired occupations at Malville, Seabrook, and Brokdorf. The first occupation at Malville involved a festive march of 20,000 people to the site. The next day after much discussion and preparation for organized nonviolent resistance, the fence into the site was cut. The first to go in was arrested. During negotiations for his release, police began firing tear gas. Then 500 demonstrators went onto the site. Negotiations began again, and festivities continued. Over the next few days many demonstrators drifted away. Some who stayed chatted and even played football with the police. But then an order came to clear the site. Early in the morning 1000 riot police woke the remaining 400 campers with truncheons, smashing cameras, loading them into buses and dumping them several miles away.

The effect of the demonstration spread: work on a nuclear station nearby was stopped and a dozen local councils voted against it. Three days later, 5000 marched back to the site, but were allowed by police to stay. After the campers settled down and local people went home, the police used tear gas which failed to move the campers, then they charged the people, injuring 50.

The first occupation at Brokdorf began with a march of 8000. About 500 occupied the site until dark when 5000 police came in putting up barbed wire, and using chemical mace, tear gas, water cannons, and horses to clear the site.

Fortified Sites

The growing popularity of mass demonstrations and occupations convinced the government that mass mobilization of police was not enough. After Brokdorf I and Malville II, nuclear power plant sites were turned into fortresses, at the cost of about $1 million each. Brokdorf was ringed by a moat filled with water, then surrounded by massive rolls of barbed wire, then a fence made of welded iron rods about 1'' thick, and finally concrete walls 4'' thick topped with more barbed wire! Similar fortifications were created at Malville and Grondhe.

In spite of these fortifications, demonstrators during Brokdorf II broke through the fence, but none of the 20,000 demonstrators could enter. Police dropped tear gas from helicopters, but could not be accurate because the demonstrators, anticipating such a move, sent up kites to keep the helicopters at a distance. The occupation, marred by incidents of rock throwing, ended after several hours with 200 to 300 being arrested.

As a result of Brokdorf II, the authorities prohibited the announced February 19, 1977 demonstration at Brokdorf and threatened reprisals against any who would participate. This split the movement with some organizers calling for a peaceful demonstration at Itzenhoe, the nearby regional capital. Others called for a return to Brokdorf. About 20,000 went to Brokdorf and 20,000 to Itzenhoe. Police barriers with machine guns were set up over a mile from the Brokdorf site, through which no one was able to penetrate.

"Civil War"

Meanwhile, on the same day, unknown to the government, 1000 marched to Grondhe and occupied that site for a couple of hours. The site was then fortified in anticipation of the next demonstration two weeks later. Grondhe II began with a march of 20,000 which broke through a police barrier a mile from the site (there were 5000 police present). Then they succeeded in tearing a 30-foot hole in the double walls of the site, while being fought by the police inside. They were attacked by water-cannons, mace, police dogs and horses. The demonstrators had only defensive "weapons" and tools to destroy the walls and fences. Soon the lines of demonstrators dissolved, with many trying to escape. The police didn't choose who they beat—it was, with no exaggeration, a scene of civil war.

About 800 demonstrators were injured and 36 arrested; 237 police were reported injured. Four of the arrested demonstrators are due to be charged with attempted homicide. One Marxist-Leninist organization, the Kommunistischer Bund Westdeutschland (KBW), who are allegedly responsible for the whole action, will be banned.

Mass Arrests

The Seabrook occupations added a new element to the direct action campaigns against nukes—the mass arrest. Until Seabrook no more than 300 had been arrested, and those were a result of civil disorder not civil disobedience. The 1414 arrested at Seabrook on April 30 stemmed from a deliberate nonviolent violation of civil law.

Organizing and Associated Problems

Unlike the United States, the European movement has seen some clear-cut successes: the cancellation of the Wyhl and Markolsheim plants through occupations, and Montalto plant after a march of 8000. In addition, the organizers have been able to mobilize massive demonstrations in short order. Opposition to nuclear power seems to be more universal in western Europe than in the United States.

However, the massive numbers has resulted in situations where organizers were unable to communicate changes in plans and where rumors (or small unrepresentative groups) dominated the course of action—changing its nonviolent character. At some demonstrations no one knew what was going on, and most felt no part of the decision-making. A significant number of those involved in the occupations (or attempted occupations) were not interested in either nonviolent action (which they consider symbolic), or in sub-

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mitting to arrest. They considered the occupations to be part of a class war to defeat capitalism. Nuclear power was opposed because it is under capitalist control and therefore not controlled by the people for their benefit. Also the capitalist state is not concerned about safety as a socialist state would be. Furthermore, power plants would take away jobs under a capitalist economy which would be guaranteed in a socialist state.

Organizing for the Seabrook actions was based on units of 8 to 20 people called affinity groups. Each of these groups received nonviolent training and made up the basic decision-making structure communicated through spokespersons, once the actions began. This structure not only insured a clear understanding of the demonstration strategy and provided a way for everyone to participate in decisions, but it also helped to isolate provocateurs. All three occupations were clearly nonviolent despite attempts by some pro-nuke people to label them as violent.

The main problems with Seabrook III were a lack of familiarity with the decision-making structure, causing a clogging of the system with trivial matters, etc.; poor planning as to what to do if arrests did not occur immediately; a creeping tendency to equate nonviolence with passivity; the lack of clear political connections with other issues and movements; and an *inclination* to see the action as symbolic rather than seriously consider trying to stop construction or even entering the restricted area of the site.

The Future

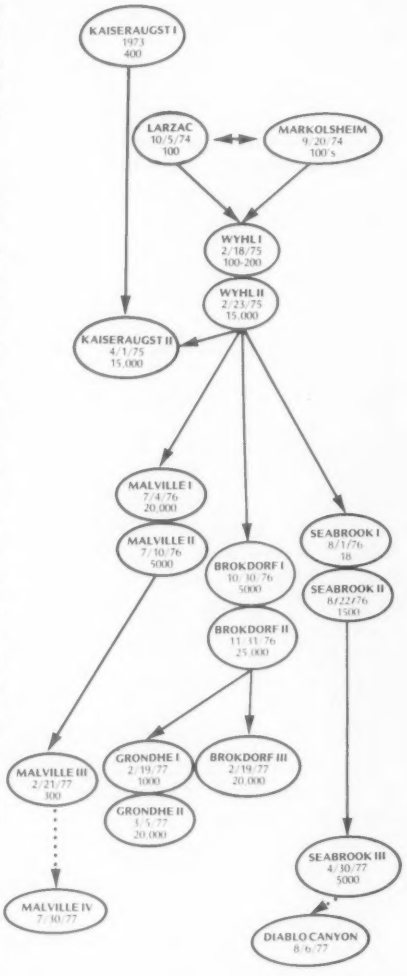
Both movements (in Europe and the U.S.) can learn a lot from each other's experiences. If the European movement is to be successful, considering the heavily fortified sites, it will have to entertain the possibility of blocking entrances and submitting to arrest nonviolently rather than "blasting" through and engaging in a battle with the police. Furthermore, if the European movement wants to avoid alienating supporters, it will need to develop a decision-making structure which is responsive to the participants.

The anti-nuke movement in the U.S. will need to more actively reach out to other movements for social change and clearly express connections among the issues. If many occupations the size of Seabrook III or larger occur, the state may stop arresting and may begin violent attacks (e.g., tear gas, mace, water cannons) as it has done in Europe.

There are two occupations which have been announced: Malville on July 30 and Diablo Canyon (California) on August 6—both organized in an explicit nonviolent fashion.

A new anti-nuke tactic has been spreading which might provide an effective compliment to occupations: an electricity bill strike. Opponents of the Kaiseraugst plant began organizing for this in 1974 by gathering commitments from people until 1000 had agreed. Then those people would begin not paying 20% of their bill. This idea has spread to Malville in 1976 where people are refusing to pay 15%, and now opponents of the Brokdorf plant are mounting a similar campaign this year.

Resources for this article involve extensive use of back issues of the WRI Newsletter, Peace News, WIN *and* War Resistance; *as well as a long conversation with Karl-Heinz Seng, former staff member of the WRI.*



This schematic diagram illustrates the connections among the various occupations. The date indicates when the occupation began; the figure represents the number involved in the action at its peak; the roman numerals simply identify different occupations at the same site; and the arrows show the influence of an occupation on subsequent ones.

Training

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One pertains to the vitalness of the issues covered which served to remind us each of our human needs for recognition and respect. Another positive contributing factor was the diligent use of 'group process', similar to that developed by the Movement for a New Society. An awareness of group process enabled us to creatively organize our limited time while providing us with flexible structures for getting through mountains of informational material and discussion. Because the usual tensions associated with meetings were kept to a minimum, we quickly grew close all the while maintaining a constructive pace.

As a result of being part of this training program my faith in the nonviolent movment as a viable approach for bringing about social change has been renewed. I have a clearer sense of the need for organizing on all levels tempered with an acceptance of the fact that our work will never be done. There will always be issues that require challenge and change. But at least now I feel more equipped to work with others towards taking control of the direction our own lives will take.

AMERICA IS NOT HARD TO FIND

by Igal Roodenko

Our country is enormous, in size and diversity. The tempo of our lives is overwhelming. The amount of information thrown at us is so large and so specialized that contradictory interpretations and viewpoints are inevitable.

In my spring tour of the Midwest—particularly because I spoke most often to captive audiences in colleges and high schools—I found it best, not to throw out new data, but to present a new perspective on information already well known. For instance:

In a suburban, white, middle class high school in Texas, a student said: "While you conscientious objectors were sitting safely back home, other young men were being sent to Vietnam in your place, perhaps to get killed. If I had my way, I'd stand all of you COs up against the wall and I'd shoot you myself." The class applauded.

When the room was quiet again, I said: "I admire the guy who said that. I value people who have strong convictions and who aren't too shy to stand up and speak their minds. I admire him more than I do those who sit back watching the world, and indeed their own lives, go by. But I was brought here to present a different point of view. Do any of you know of any Congressmen's sons who were drafted and killed in Vietnam? How about daddies who had enough money to send their sons to shrinks to buy 4-F deferments? And you know that for many years sons of middleclass families were all off to college where the draft didn't touch them. For every guy who stood up openly to oppose the war, there were thousands who slipped through enormous loop holes kindly provided by a middleclass government. Even if you think the Vietnam war was justified, you'd still have to agree that it was like all other wars: the rich got richer and the poor got killed." And I, also, was applauded.

There was a college sociology class, also in Texas, where I started off by asking the students whether any of them were Episcopalians. Three were. And all but one of the sixty students had been to some kind of religious service at least once during the preceding twelve months. "Do you realize that, had you been living in England 300 years ago, all but the Episcopalians would have been breaking the law if you had refused to worship God the way the King did? All the freedoms we have here and now came, not from benevolent establishments, but from the suffering and commitment of a long list of dissidents and martyrs. Civil disobedience is one of the central elements of our culture. Those who stood up against the majority in the past—for freedom of religion, press, assembly, for black rights, women's rights, universal suffrage—were always considered satanic and unAmerican, just as we were when we opposed the Vietnam war, when we urge amnesty, lessening the military budget, relating more humanly with the third world."

In class after class, in churches, open meetings, media interviews, it was easy to get a hearing. Not that people rushed to join the WRL, but dialog was created where it rarely if ever existed before. There are a number of assumptions I make before speaking. These not only encourage dialog, but, I believe, are very central to what radical pacifism is all about:

1. There is little political dialog in America—or in the rest of the world—because we almost always start with our conclusions instead of our assumptions: I am for amnesty, you're against it. I am for busing, you're against it. But, suppose I say, "Before we decide whether or not to bus, what we're really after is the best possible education for children. And there might be situations where busing might be helpful." This does not eliminate differences, but it does cut down on the anger and does permit discussion.

2. Every man and woman is doing the best he or she can. The best is never good enough. Your best, like mine, is subject to your prejudices, blind spots, laziness, sloth, greed, sloppy thinking, and all other major and minor sins and weaknesses. It is still the best you can do. My task is not to tell you how stupid or evil you are, but to make easier your acceptance of new data, insights, reactions.

3. The world needs heroes and saints, but few of us are cut out for such roles. It is not "Be perfect as your Father in Heaven (or Che Guevera) is perfect." It is, rather, "Go as far as *you* can, and perhaps one step further." I didn't urge a total restructuring of one's life in order to avoid the sin of paying taxes for war. but the possibilities of not paying the phone tax, to start with.

4. Objectively, I may indeed be wiser, braver, more committed, and saintlier than any of the people I spoke with. But subjectively, each high school student's experiences and insights are as valuable and valid to him or her, as mine are to me. And, at that level, *we are equals*..

5. America has never been more open to new insights, answers, and questions than it is now. The traditional foundations of society—Government, industry, the academy, the church, and the family—have never offered so little to so many people. They may have served well in the past, but no longer. Beneath the universal worries about earning a living, I sense an even deeper anxiety, often subconscious: "What am I going to do with *my* life?"

I hoped to reach people who had rarely been confronted with the kinds of moral and political concerns that we pacifists consider basic. Going to their classes and churches was not only a trip by Greyhound. It was a journey to where their hearts and minds are—not where I wanted them to be. The response was exhilerating. But one-shot meetings can only be an opening of the door. Program and organization by local groups is essential if the door is to stay open. So, if all this makes sense to you, invite me. My bag is packed.

For the record—and if you will allow me to point with some pride: The 16 week tour started in mid-January in Mobile, Alabama and ended in Kent, Ohio some 9000 miles later. There were 222 meetings at 44 colleges, 9 high schools, and 35 churches, in 60 cities and 15 states. There were 46 media interviews, and over $2000 earned in speaking fees.

Argentine repression dramatized at demonstration on behalf of Adolfo Perez Esquivel and others on June 6, 1977 in New York City. photo by Doug Magee

Servicio Coordinator Imprisoned

Adolfo Perez Esquivel, coordinator of Servicio Paz y Justicia en America Latina (an organization that links nonviolent groups in Latin America) has been imprisoned since April 4 on charges of "subversive activity."

Adolfo, along with Ernesto Benado Rejovitzky, editor of the Spanish edition of the *Monthly Review* and Mauricio Lopez, an internationally known ecumenical theologian, were the subject of leaflets and petitions on June 6, 7, and 8 demonstration in front of the Argentine Consulate in New York City. War Resisters League, Catholic Peace Fellowship, Clergy & Laity Concerned, Jewish Peace Fellowship, Jewish Socialist Bund and New York FOR organized the demonstration on behalf of these three Argentine political prisoners calling for their release as well as the release of thousands of other political prisoners held by the junta government.

On taking power, the junta government declared its intentions of restoring Christian values and democratic process, and of ending all violence. Protests regarding these three cases and the massive repression of political prisoners in Argentina can be addressed to: Senor Presidente General Jorge Videla, Casa do Gobierno, Buenos Aires, Argentina.

PEACE ACTIVIST DIES

Neil Haworth, an activist in the Movement since 1959, died June 18 of cancer at the age of 46.

Many pacifists are familiar with the photo of A.J. Muste climbing over the fence at Mead Missile Base during CNVA's 1969 Omaha Action project. Few recall that Neil was one of the leading participants sentenced to 6 months suspended and $500 fine (for which Neil was jailed).

Many are aware that Maurice McCracken was one of the very few who have been jailed for war tax resistance. He was sentenced to 6 months. Few know that Neil served a similarly long term for war tax resistance.

Some vaguely recall the 1962 sailing of EVERYMAN III from London to Leningrad, the action project—along with the San Francisco-Moscow Walk—which demonstrated that our opposition to Soviet nuclear tests is as strong as our opposition to U.S. tests. Few recall that Neil was a member of the EVERYMAN III crew.

For a long period, Neil was coordinator of CNVA, when its headquarters was at 325 Lafayette Street, a block south of the present Peace Building. During his final years, he ran a Movement printshop which went bankrupt largely because Neil was more interested in advancing the cause of peace than in making profit.

WRL STREET FAIR

The street fair was a great success. Our old friend and ally, the "Peace" Church (Washington Square Methodist Church), and WRL joined forces for two full days in June on the church's tour—a great block between Sixth Avenue and Washington Square Park in New York City.

With the weather aiding and abetting us, we made a handsome amount of money and split it with the church. The fair got WRL on the street—a place we always like to be—and it made us and our literature visible to lots of people.

There were hilarious children's games and marvelous face paintings. WRL members cleaned their attics and garages giving an abundance of second hand clothing, books, records and interesting elephants. We provided baked goods, pot luck casseroles, French crepes, hot dogs, hamburgers, popcorn, and freshly squeezed fruit juices. We even had a Village author's booth which included Grace Paley, Erika Weihs, Barbara Garson, robert Engler, and Millen Brand autographing their latest books.

The entire festival was underlined by the quiet loveliness of the totally unamplified music of Sani Paz, the Chilean folk singer, Medicine Show Troupe singer; Larry Estridge, hard political rock singer; and Nancy Williams, beautiful folk singing accompanied by the autoharp.

Everything came together so that even the several dozen people who worked from sun up to sun down were energized on the days' great vibrations to think about doing it again next year. Thanks to all the League members who helped people the booths and donate food, clothing, and books. You are the people that made this such a great fund raising event.

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